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## THE FORMS OF *DŌN* IN OLD HIGH GERMAN

Wilmanns, in his *Deutsche Grammatik* III, 60, has assumed the existence of the four stems *dō*, *dōjo*, *du*, *dē* or *dējo* of the verb *dōn*=to do, in order to explain the OHG. forms *tuon*, *tuos(t)*, *tuot*; *tuoie*, *tuoiest*, *tuoie*; *duis(t)*, *duas(t)*, *duit*, *duat*; *deist*, *deit*. It is the purpose of this investigation to show that such an assumption is unnecessary. We can, I believe, explain all the forms in OHG. without having recourse as Wilmanns does (*ZfdA.* xxxiii, 425) to an indogermanic stemgradation (*dádhami*, *dadhmás*).

1. That the earliest germanic form of this word contained only *ō* is shown by the OS., AS. *dōn*, OHG. *tōm* (only a few examples in the oldest documents; cf. Schatz, *Altbair. Gramm.* § 176). In OHG. the *ō* was diphthongized to *uo*, *ua* (Cf. Braune, *Ahd. Gramm.* § 39), whence the forms *tuon*, *tuan* (*duan*).

2. The athematic inflection *tuo-n*, *tuo-s(t)*, etc. (Tatian, Notker et al.) *dua-n*, *dua-s(t)*, *dua-t* (Otfrid) was the rule. But Otfrid felt, in all probability, the *a* in *duan* to belong to the regular thematic infinitive ending as *nem-an*, *zioh-an*, *far-an*, etc., in other words, *duan* divided itself for him into *du-an*, with the syllable *du-* as the stem. This is verified by his use of the forms *duis(t)*, *duit* for the second and third person singular in which the *-is(t)*, *-it* have been taken over from the regular thematic conjugations (Cf. *nimis*, *nimit*). Likewise have the plural forms *duen*, *doet*, *duent* been modeled after *nemen*, *nemet*, *nement*. Another verification of this explanation I see in the subjunctive forms *due*, *duet*, *duen*, where the *u* is short contrary to the rule that the loss of the final vowel of the diphthong *uo*, *ua* before a following vowel causes compensatory lengthening of the *u* as for example *muojen* = *mûen* (Cf. Braune, § 40<sup>4</sup>).

3. By the side of the regular subjunctive forms *tûe*, *tûest*, *tûz*, etc. in Notker, are found the probably younger *tuoë*, *tuoest*, *tuoë*, which certainly exhibit nothing but the indicative stem *tuo-* plus the subjunctive endings *-e*, *êst*, *-e*.

In Notker's *Psalms*, however, occur the subjunctive forms *tuoie*, *tuoiest*, *tuoie*, also found in MHG. as *tûeje* (Cf. Paul, *Mhd. Gramm.*

§ 175).<sup>1</sup> The insertion of a *j* after a long vowel or a diphthong is very common in OHG (Cf. Braune, § 117).

4. The forms *deist*, *deit*, which appear to have been in use only in Middle and Low Franconia, have so far baffled every attempt at an acceptable explanation. They first put in their appearance about the middle of the 12th century in the so-called *Arnsteiner Marienleich* (Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkmäler*, xxxviii). Franck, *Altfränk. Gramm.* § 211, does not venture an explanation, but seems to think that the form owes its origin to some sort of connection with *geist*, *geit* (second and third person singular of *gân*, *gên*) and *steist*, *steit* (inf. *stân*, *stên*). Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gramm.* III, 61, says "Diese Formen (*deist*, *deit*) sind entweder mit den Endungen des thematischen Verbums zu dem alten idg. Stamm *dhē* oder zu einem erweiterten Stamme *dhējo* gebildet." Möller, *PBB.* VII, 469, remarks, "Das Verb *dhē* 'tun' hatte im Germanischen ein doppeltes Präsens, urspr. (*dhi*) *dhōti*, ae. *dēþ* ahd. *tuot*, und urspr. *dhējeti* slav. *dějetŕ* 'ponit'; diese Präsensform ist erhalten in der 2. 3. Sing. mnd. nnd. *deist*, *deit*." To these attempts at explanation may be added the following:

In OS. the regular forms of the second and third person singular are *dôs*, *dôt*, *dôit* (only two examples in the *Heliand*, C. 4899, M. 5188), with the ending *-it* after the analogy of the thematic conjugation. Likewise do we find *dôen* (M. 4940), or as it frequently appears in the *Urkunden*, *doyn* (Lacomblet, *Archiv für die Geschichte des Niederrheins*, I, 392; and *Urkundenbuch* III, 172). The further development of such dissyllabic forms was favored by the tendency in Middle Franconian especially to break a long or short vowel in a closed syllable. Cf. Heinzel, *Geschichte der niederfränkischen Geschäftssprache*, pages 279-282: *doit-doden*, *cloistere*, *goizhus*, *moichte*, *woilde*, *gain*, *gedain*, *stait*, *taisten*, *aichten*, *hailff* (Cf. also Tümpel, *PBB.* VII, 61-62; Braune, *ZfdPh.* IV, 273; Nörrenberg, *PBB.* IX, 410).

We may assume that after the forms *\*dôis(t)*, *dôit* supplanted, or at least partially supplanted the older forms *dôs*, *dôt*, the *ôi*

<sup>1</sup> Wilmanns, III, 60, considers the forms with *j* old, i. e. relatively so, since the MHG. forms show Umlaut. But Mahlow, *Die langen Vokale*, page 136, and Fierlinger, *KZ.* XXVII, 435, see in them indog. forms. This view is impossible since only late works such as Notker have them (Cf. Kögel, *PBB.* IX, 509).

was shortened to *oi* just as for instance *âi* became *ei* (Cf. Lasch, *Mnd. Gramm.* §§ 124, 195). This *oi* then suffered the same change as original *oi* in a number of words (Cf. Lasch, § 128: *moyen-meyen, vroide- vreide, hoike- heike, = doit- deit*). Of course there can scarcely be any doubt that forms like *geist, geit, steist, steit* (originally *gê-is, gê-it* etc.) and possibly also *seit* (*segit*, Lasch, § 119), *sleit* (*slegit*) exerted an influence insofar that they tended to establish *deist, deit* as correct forms.

EDWARD H. SEHRT.

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### THE *HOUS OF FAME* AND THE *CORBACCIO*

Within the last few years scholars have attempted to show that Chaucer knew not only Boccaccio's verse but also several of his Italian prose works. The *Filocolo*, *Amorosa Visione*, and *Ameto* have all been proposed as "sources" for the English poet; in addition, the *Vedova* of the *Corbaccio* has been suggested by Rajna as the original of the *Wife of Bath*.<sup>1</sup> The resemblances between these characters are less striking, however, in view of the subsequent discovery by Professor Lowes that Chaucer's account of the *Wife of Bath* is largely borrowed from Deschamps' *Miroir de Mariage*.<sup>2</sup>

Up to this time, nevertheless, no one has called attention to certain parallels between the *Corbaccio* and the *Hous of Fame*. These points of likeness are found in the structural features of the two works rather than in treatment or phraseology. For the convenience of the reader the *Corbaccio*, which runs to a hundred pages, is summarized below: <sup>3</sup>

The poet falls asleep thinking of his mistress. He dreams that he enters a pleasant path, so pleasant that his feet seem to take wings as he hastens forward. His progress is arrested by a cloud, which soon disappears, leaving him in a thorny desert. Here he is so terrified by lamentations and groans that he fears to be torn by wild beasts. Unable to find any way in or out of this solitude, he is giving himself up for lost, when he sees a man approaching.

<sup>1</sup> *Romania*, 1903: pp. 247-8.

<sup>2</sup> *M. Phil.* VIII, 165-186, 305-334.

<sup>3</sup> Boccaccio, *Opere Volgari*, Firenze, Moutier, 1828, v, 155-255.